



XIX.—*Notes on the Imagery of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster.*

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Read Feb. 24, 1881.

The Chapel of King Henry the Seventh, *orbis miraculum*, as Leland calls it, has passed through troublous times with less injury to itself than most of our ecclesiastical buildings have, and than its especially exposed position might lead us to expect; and it still possesses much of the rich furniture and decorations with which it was originally fitted up. Amongst the latter, of one hundred and seven stone images in niches which once adorned the interior, not less than ninety-five remain, and of the twelve missing ones, we can discover the subjects of some, and explain the absence of all. The outside was once also rich in images, as the empty niches still testify, and they seem to have stood there until the beginning of the last century. I have not found the exact date of their removal, but Dart^a says they were "taken away lest they should fall upon the heads of those who attend the Parliament." They were forty-eight in number, the six eastern turrets having four niches apiece, and the eight others three. The outside of the Chapel is all new, but is a very good copy for the time when it was done. The pedestal under each niche has a scroll, with a name, as it were that of the figure formerly above, but, I fear, not worth much as evidence of what was originally there. The selection has a very modern look, and there seems to be no system of arrangement. Apostles, prophets, and kings are mixed up in the most complete confusion; but the apostles and evangelists are all there, as are the greater and lesser prophets. For the rest the sole qualification required seems to be that they should be mentioned somewhere in the Old Testament. Some of the names

^a Vol. ii. p. 49. According to Newbery's Guide Book, of which my copy is dated 1754, there were some images removed from the outside stowed in the roof of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, but it is not said clearly where they came from.

are in English, some in Latin, and some in neither. I give them as I find them in the note below.^a

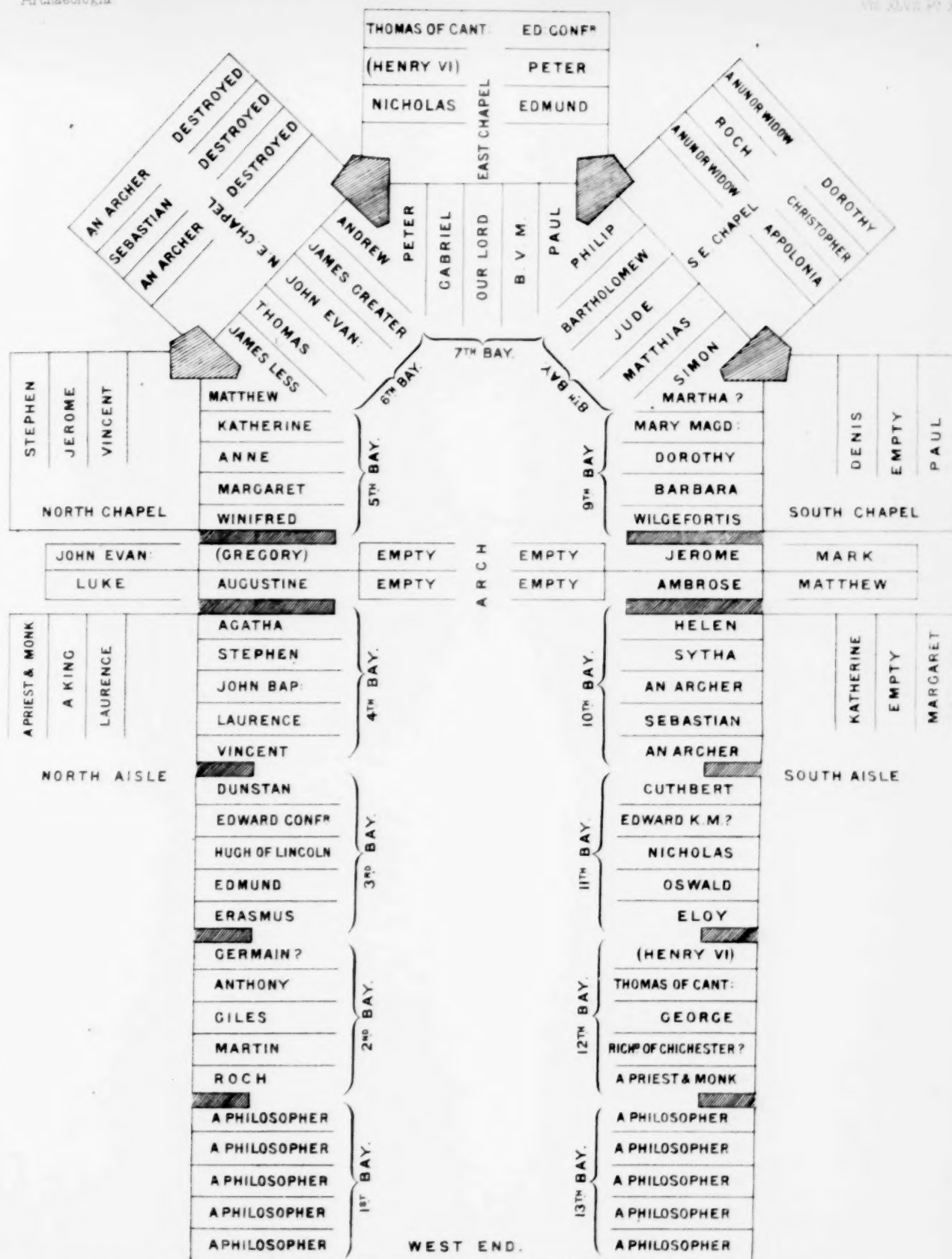
I believe Coombe^b is the first writer who attempted to give a list of the figures inside the Chapel, but he was quite unsuccessful. Brayley did rather better, and his descriptions are generally correct, but he makes many mistakes in naming the figures, and passes many over without attempting to name them. Later writers have followed Brayley, and not improved on him. As this is by far the largest collection of such images remaining in England, we should be able to learn from it something of the ideas which influenced the sculptors in their choice and arrangement of subjects. The list which I now have the honour of presenting to the Society (Pl. X.) is not so perfect as I should like it to be. A few of the images are so injured as to have lost all distinctive marks, others have never had any, and a few more have marks the meaning of which I have not yet been able to discover. One—the bearded priest with the dragon—has so much that is special about him that I am dissatisfied to bring the matter forward without being able to identify him. But all my efforts to do so have failed. Many suggestions have been made, but none yet that is satisfactory, and I can only hope, by calling atten-

^a Beginning at the south-west and working round from left to right to the north-west.

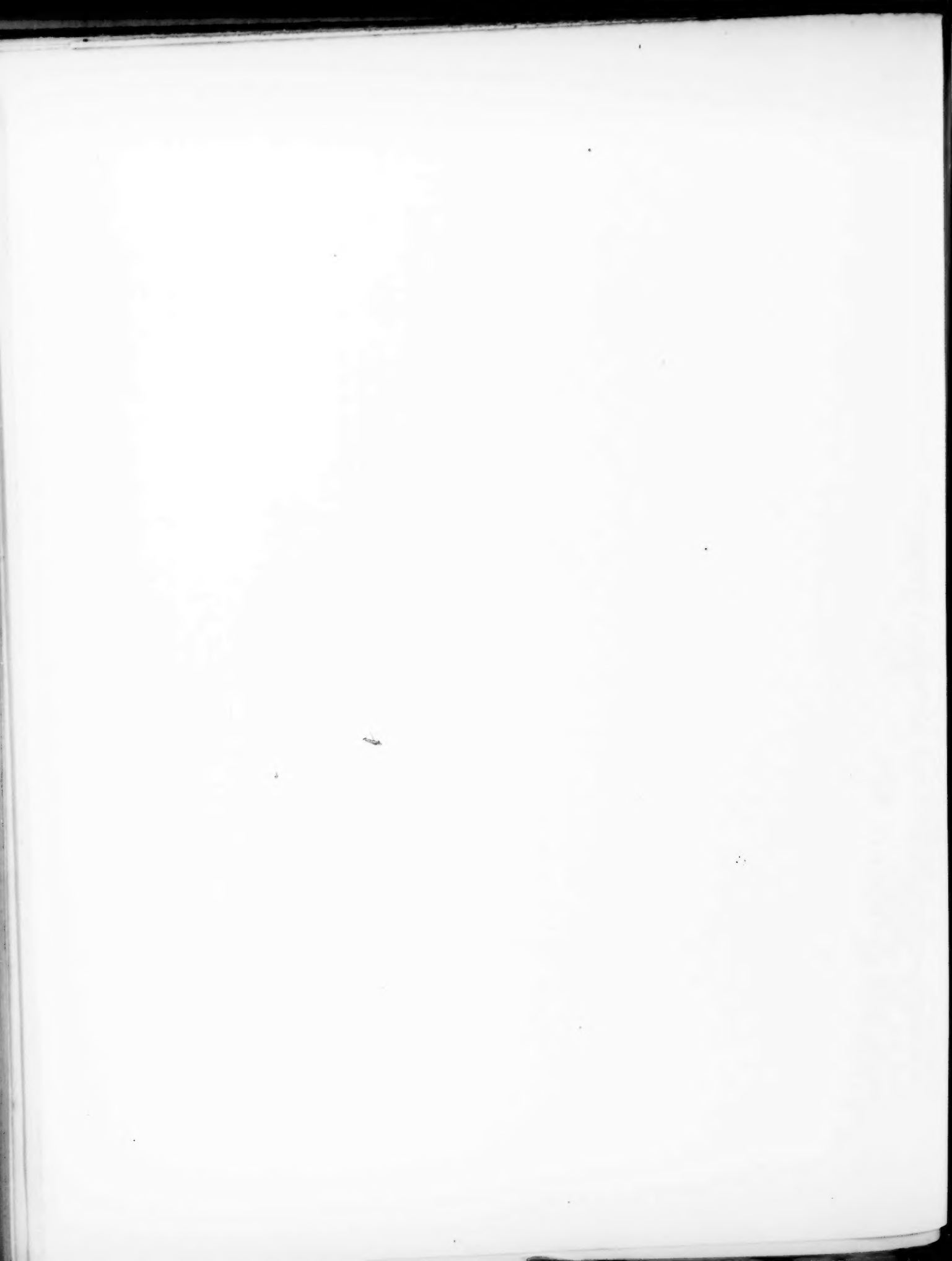
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|-------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1st Turret. | 1. Thomas. | 2. John B. | 3. Solomon. |
| 2nd " | 1. Esay. | 2. James L. | 3. Misael. |
| 3rd " | 1. Elizeas. | 2. Barnabes. | 3. Luke. |
| 4th " | 1. Nathan. | 2. Andrew. | 3. Jonas. |
| 5th " | 1. Jeremias. | 2. Peter. | 3. David. 4. Esdreas. |
| 6th " | 1. Michias. | 2. Ezekiel. | 3. James. 4. Abdias. |
| 7th " | 1. Hosea. | 2. Joel. | 3. Amos. 4. Nahum. |
| 8th " | 1. Semeiah. | 2. Phillip. | 3. Aggeus. 4. Jehu. |
| 9th " | 1. Michael. | 2. Ananias. | 3. Malachy. 4. Simon. |
| 10th " | 1. Zakarias. | 2. Matthew. | 3. Abacuc. 4. Daniel. |
| 11th " | 1. Mathias. | 2. Paul. | 3. Azarias. |
| 12th " | 1. Mark. | 2. Zephaniah. | 3. Elisha. |
| 13th " | 1. Bartholomew. | 2. John E. | 4. Nehemiah. |
| 14th " | 1. Elias. | 2. Samuel. | 3. Jude. |

Two or three of the names are so obscured with soot that I could not be sure about them, but Cottingham's plates of the north and east elevations have enabled me to complete the list.

^b The lists I have met with are Coombe's, in Ackermann's *History of Westminster Abbey*, vol. ii. pp. 145-9 (1812); Brayley's, in Neale and Brayley's *History and Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, vol. i. pp. 37-9 (1818); Cottingham's, in his *Chapel of King Henry the Seventh*, vol. ii. pp. 11-17 (1829); and Sir Henry Cole's, in his *Handbook for Westminster Abbey*, pp. 129-131 (1842). Cottingham has drawn many of the images, but has restored missing parts according to his fancy.

A SYNOPTICAL VIEW OF THE IMAGES INSIDE HENRY VIITH CHAPEL.

The Names in Brackets are those of Figures now gone. Names marked ? are more or less doubtful.



tion to the matter in this paper, to obtain some information which may settle the point.

The figures are evidently the works of many hands,^a and vary in quality from very good to very bad. They are of two sizes—small ones, about three feet three inches high, in the body of the Chapel, and larger, about five feet, in the aisles and side chapels. I will describe the larger first, as there is reason to think they were the first executed. They are generally of the better sort. I begin in all cases on the left, and describe the images in order from left to right.

In the North Aisle.—Here are three niches at the east end above the site of an altar, and figures remain in all.

1. Is that mentioned just now. It is of a priest,^b bearded, vested for Mass, but with a scapular pulled out over his chasuble; both hands wear gauntlets, the left carries a closed book, and the right holds one end of a stole, the other end of which is tied round the neck of a dragon at the feet of the figure.

2. A king, beardless, in right hand a sceptre, the left, muffled in mantle, holds a closed book. This has been called Henry the Sixth, but we have reason for placing him elsewhere. It is not Edward C. nor Edmund K. M., for both are found further on in this series. It might be Edward K. M. or Lewis of France, but either of them would be easy to mark, and the sculptor would scarcely be content to show him with a book only. I think the closed book, as in this and the last figure, indicates authorship. The open book in which many of the saints are represented reading has probably no special meaning, but I suspect a closed book generally has.

3. St. Lawrence as a deacon in dalmatic; he reads from a book which is supported on a gridiron. He has the stole, after the manner of priests, hanging down on both sides.

In the North Chapel.—The west side is entirely taken up with the monument of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, but the corresponding position in the opposite chapel has no niches, so it is probable that there were none here. On the east side, above the site of the altar, are three niches, all retaining their figures.

1. St. Stephen, with dalmatic and stole like St. Lawrence. He holds a handful of stones in right hand upon which he supports the book of the Gospels closed.

^a See note A at the end of the paper.

^b *Not a bishop.* Nearly all the names which have been suggested to me for this figure have been those of bishops. St. Simon Stock and St. Gilbert of Sempringham have been proposed, and either is possible, but I have not found in their stories anything to account for the very curious representation we have here. The same is in "Twelfth Bay" 5, and Plate XII.

2. St. Jerome, as a cardinal, closed book in left hand; right seems to have held a pen; a small lion fawns on him on the left side.

3. A deacon or subdeacon in dalmatic, but with no stole visible; the left hand, veiled in a napkin or *offertorium*, holds three vessels very like pint measures. This is St. Vincent, who is named in the will of Henry the Seventh as one of his *avouries*.^a

In the North-east Chapel.—There have been six figures, three over the altar, and three in the wall opposite. The niches over the altar have been cut away to make room for the monument of John Sheffield, Duke of Bucks, and we do not know what was in them. The others remain, and form a group representing the martyrdom of St. Sebastian. In the middle niche the saint is represented tied naked to a tree, and on each side is a man armed with a crossbow, the first taking aim and the other preparing to do so. The executioners wear gowns and hats like the gentry of the time when the work was done.

In the East Chapel.—I think that when the plan of Henry the Seventh's Chapel was first laid down it was not intended that there should be an altar in the eastern recess, but that the shrine of the new saint should stand there. We know that the tomb of the founder was at first intended to be in the middle of the body of the Chapel, and in front of the Altar of Our Lady, which would then be further east than it is now, and the shrine of Henry the Sixth would hold the same relative position with respect to it as that of St. Edward does to the High Altar. The alteration in the plan by which the founder's tomb was placed behind the principal altar was probably brought about by the failure of the efforts to obtain the canonization of Henry the Sixth. An altar may have afterwards been put in the east recess and may even have been dedicated to "Saint" Henry, for we know there were altars to him in other places. And Thorpe's plan seems to show an altar not towards the east, but towards the north. In this chapel are six niches, three on the north and three on the south, and five of them still hold images.

On the north side :

1. A Bishop vested for Mass and with crozier against left shoulder. With his right hand he blesses an infant which he holds in a basket in his left.^b There can be little doubt that this is intended for St. Nicholas, the patron of children, but I do not remember an exactly similar representation of him elsewhere.

^a Husenbeth gives an example of St. Vincent, "with book and jug or ewer," from an old vestment in Wardour Chapel.

^b The same as in "Eleventh Bay" 3, and Plate XI.

2. Is now empty, but the letters H.R.* between a rose and a pomegranate on the base make it pretty certain that here was the figure of Henry the Sixth himself. And this seems to explain both the unusual position of the altar shown by Thorpe and the removal of the image.

3. An archbishop vested for Mass and reading from a book; the cross rests against his left shoulder. This looks like St. Thomas of Canterbury, and I believe it is intended for him, for we should expect to find him amongst such a collection of saints as are in this chapel. He was commonly represented thus, but, as there is nothing about the figure which would not suit that of any other archbishop, it is possible that the order for doing away all memorials of St. Thomas may have been evaded by giving it a new name.

On the south side :

1. St. Edward Confessor, as a king, bearded, with sceptre in right hand and ring in left.

2. St. Peter, bearded, in the conventional dress generally given to apostles, holding a key in right hand and a closed book in left.

3. St. Edmund, king and martyr, as a king, shaven, holding an orb in left hand, and an arrow in place of sceptre in right. Brayley and those who follow him call this St. Ursula.

In the South-East Chapel are six niches, three over the altar and three opposite, in all of which figures remain.

On the east side 1 and 3 are much alike and represent women in the dress of nuns or widows; the right hand, which may have held some distinguishing badge, is injured in each case, and the left holds a sort of jar, which in 1 is cylindrical and in 3 gourd-shaped. Either of these figures alone might have been taken for St. Clare. The Rev. S. Baring Gould has suggested that the two may represent the sisters Mary and Martha, which is quite possible. St. Mary Magdalene is not found elsewhere in this series; but she is represented in the more usual manner in the upper range. 2 is St. Roch, as a pilgrim, with "sign" of the cross keys in his hat. He opens his dress to show a sore on his left thigh. At his left side is a dog with a loaf in his mouth. On the west side: 1. St. Dorothy. A young woman reading and carrying a wicker basket over her right arm. This is the basket containing the flowers and fruits of Paradise. The head of the figure has been tampered with. 2. St. Christopher wading through water. He

* The initials H. R. and the various Tudor badges are common all over the Chapel, but this is the only case in which they are found on the base of the niche or in any other way connected with any of the images.

is bearded, wears a short tunic, and uses an uprooted tree for a staff. On his shoulder is the figure of the child Jesus now much broken.

3. St. Apollonia. A young woman with long hair, reading from a book in right hand, and holding a pair of pincers in her left.

In the South Chapel—Are three niches over the altar, two having figures. The wall opposite is decorated with panel work, and has no niches.

1. St. Denis. A bishop, in cope, with crozier against his left shoulder. With both hands he holds a mitred head. He has another head and mitre in the usual place.

2. Is empty.

3. St. Paul. An apostolic figure, bearded and long haired, reading from a book, which he supports on the pommel of a sword held on his right side.

In the South Aisle—Are three niches over the altar, the middle one empty.

1. St. Katherine. Crowned and royally dressed, trampling on the Emperor. To her left, the broken wheel, with knives.

3. St. Margaret. Crowned as last, and thrusting the butt of a large cross into the jaws of a dragon at her feet.

We have now gone round the minor chapels, and have found in them twenty-four images remaining, and the places of six more. Of these six, the absence of three is explained by the intrusion of the monument of the Duke of Bucks into their place. We have no evidence of what they were, or whether they were all in their places up to the time of the erection of the monument.^a The other three

^a I suspect that the altar of St. Erasmus, at which was the chantry of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward the Fourth, stood in this place. The chapel which she built, and which stood near, and probably attached to the side of the old Lady Chapel, was pulled down to make way for the new Lady Chapel built by Henry the Seventh, and an altar for the chantry services was temporarily set up where is now the entrance to the chapel of St. John Evangelist. That altar cannot have stood after the erection of the tomb of George Ruthall, who died in 1524; and as at that time the new Lady Chapel was ready for use, it would be natural to provide for the Queen's chantry in it at a new altar of St. Erasmus placed somewhere near the site of the old one. I learn from Mr. Wright, the clerk of works to the Dean and Chapter, that he has found the foundations of the older Lady Chapel, which show that it reached eastwards as far as the body of the present Chapel and there ended in a three-sided apse. So if, as is very likely, Queen Elizabeth's chantry chapel stood between two of its buttresses near the east end, it may have been nearly on this spot. The figure of the saint to whom the altar was dedicated would be one of those in the wall above, and all the chapels on the north side except this have their figures complete, and St. Erasmus is not among them. If the altar were anywhere in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and not here, it must have been in what I have called the south chapel. For the east is accounted for, and the south aisle had the chantry of Margaret of Richmond.

are the middle figures over the sites of altars. There can be little doubt that they were removed in obedience to Cromwell's *Injunctions* issued in 1536, which ordered the removal of all images before which lights had been placed, or to which offerings had been made. These figures had probably lights before them, perhaps indeed rather with respect to the altars below them than to the images themselves, but that was enough to cause their removal. That of Henry the Sixth may have had offerings made to it, as we know was done to his image at York and elsewhere.

The smaller figures in the body of the Chapel form a range above the arches, and below the clerestory windows all round, except at the west end, five in each bay, and two ranging with them on each of the broad piers between the fourth and the fifth bays. These piers have each a pair of niches above the main range, and another below it. The subjects are arranged according to one general system, with some attention to symmetrical disposition within the separate bays.

In the centre of the east end is Our Lord enthroned, with the Blessed Virgin in the next niche on the south, and the angel Gabriel on the north; then to right and left are the apostles, then holy women,* then Evangelists and Doctors, who take up the niches of the great piers; and after them a general multitude of saints, amongst whom are those most popular in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Most of the figures in the chapels round are repeated here, and amongst them are the two executioners of St. Sebastian, who seem much out of place in such a range, and their presence suggests that the general arrangement was laid down by authority, but that those who had the working out of it were left to make their own selection of subjects, and to save themselves trouble simply repeated what had been done below. The figures in the western bay at both sides appear not to represent Christian saints. They show men dressed as laymen of rank in the sixteenth century, with books or scrolls in their hands, and generally in earnest disputation. It is difficult to appropriate these figures with certainty. At first I thought they might be members of the family of the founder. But, if it had been so, there must have been clearer distinctions amongst them, even though it were no more than to mark kings from subjects. Again, they do not look like the prophets of the old law. I think it is most likely that they are intended for the heathen philosophers. The figures themselves agree well with this; and the introduction of the philosophers after the saints of the church is quite in harmony with the ideas of that time. There is a parallel example in the

* Probably placed here with reference to the text "In the midst are the damsels."

choir stalls at Ulm set up between 1469 and 1474, in which there is a great show of imagery, and the philosophers are introduced opposite to the sibyls.

Each of the figures in this range has a scroll below intended to have the name painted upon it. But the painting seems never to have been done, although Henry VII. orders it in his will, in which he directs "that the walles, doores, windows, archies, and vaults, and ymagies of the same our chapell within and w'tout, be painted, garnished and adorned with our armes, bagies, cognoisants, and other convenient painteng, in as goodly and riche maner as such a work requireth and as to a King's work app'teigneth."^a There is no trace of any painting here now except the dedication crosses, of which nine remain in good condition, the other three having probably been destroyed when the eastern windows were rebuilt. If there had been any such painting as described in the King's will there must have been a good deal of it left now. Those who had charge of the work probably felt that the chapel was better without it; and they were right, but it would have been interesting to us if they had not left the name-scrolls blank.

I will now describe the figures of the upper range in order, beginning at the west end of the north side and so working round from left to right. For convenience I number each bay separately.

The First Bay.—The figures here are those that I have called philosophers. They are in gowns and mantles, and wear hats which generally have jewelled ornaments. 1 and 2 are bearded, the others shaven; all have long hair. 1, 2, and 5 hold books; 3 is preparing to open a scroll; all are represented as in earnest disputation. 1 has a sword knife and gypsere hanging to his girdle. Our fellow, Mr. J. H. Middleton, whom I have to thank for much help in the examination of the figures, suggests that the sword may be intended to mark out Aristotle as the fighting philosopher.

The Second Bay.—1. St. Roch, as a pilgrim, exhibiting a sore on his left thigh, as in the south-east chapel; but here there is no dog.

2. A man in armour except his head, upon which is a hat. His face is shaved and he has long hair. Over his armour he wears a large loose cloth or mantle. In his hands he holds a precious mitre. This very curious figure must be intended for St. Martin. The more usual way of representing him—on horseback and dividing his cloak with a beggar—did not suit the position. So as much of his history as possible was put on to a single standing figure. He is in

^a Dart, vol. i. p. 8.

armour to tell us that he had been a soldier; the mantle which he divided with the beggar is thrown over him; and he carries the mitre to show that he became a bishop. This figure is drawn on Plate XI.

3. St. Giles as a bishop vested for Mass, with a small deer jumping up against his right knee.

4. St. Anthony. A bearded figure in frock, scapular, mantle, and hat. A pair of beads hangs at his right side. His left hand holds an open book, and from the same hand hangs a good-sized bell. A gaunt pig stands at his left side.

5. A bishop vested for Mass; in his left hand he holds a staff the head of which is gone, and with his right he blesses a child held up to him by a woman who kneels at his feet. This seems to refer to some miracle of healing, and there are many bishops to whom the figure might be attributed. Perhaps it is St. Germain, whom Sir Thomas More speaks of as a special patron of children.

The Third Bay.—1. St. Erasmus. A bishop in a cope reading from a book which he holds in both hands. Against his left shoulder, in place of a staff, is the spindle of a windlas.

2. A king, bearded; in left hand an orb; right hand gone. There is a mark at right side of head as of the breaking away of something in the shape of a sceptre. There can be little doubt that this and No. 4 represent St. Edmund and St. Edward, as in the east chapel; the object like a sceptre lost from No. 2 having been an arrow.

3. St. Hugh of Lincoln. A bishop in cope reading from a book which he holds in both hands. The crozier rests against his right shoulder. At his feet is a swan.

4. St. Edward the Confessor. A king with sceptre in right hand; left hand broken away. It probably held a ring. See description of No. 2 above.

5. St. Dunstan. A bishop in cope with crozier in left hand. With his right hand he holds a pair of blacksmith's pincers fastened on the nose of a devil, who tries to tear them open with his claws.*

The Fourth Bay.—1. St. Vincent. A deacon, as in the north chapel. The stole appears at both sides. He holds the three vessels with his left hand, and with them supports a book from which he reads.

* Is the story of St. Dunstan, his hot pincers, and the young woman who was a devil, a popular improvement on that of the branding of the face of Elgiva? It is true that was not contrived by Dunstan, but by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but Dunstan was so distinctly the leading English ecclesiastic and statesman of his time, that the credit—and we must remember that the act was regarded as praiseworthy—might easily be transferred to him. The remaining steps are simple.

2. St. Lawrence. A deacon with no visible stole. He reads from a book which he rests on a large gridiron.

3. St. John Baptist, with long hair and beard, bare arms and legs. He holds a lamb on a book.

4. St. Stephen. A deacon, with stole shewing on both sides. He reads from a book which he supports on a handful of stones.

5. A young woman richly dressed. She has long loose hair and a sort of turban head-dress with jewels. The dress is open so as to expose the right breast. The right hand holds a large knife, and the left a box or casket. This is St. Agatha.

The North Pier.—This comes between the fourth and fifth bays. It has three pairs of niches, the middle pair in line with the general range round the chapel. The lowest niches are empty. They may have lost their images in 1725, when the chapel was much altered and the stalls extended to this pier. But it is more likely that they have been destroyed simply because they were within easy reach, and so exposed to mischief or fanaticism.^a We have no clue to their subjects.

1, in the middle pair of niches, contains the figure of a bishop vested for Mass, blessing with his right hand and holding a book in his left. The crozier rests against his left shoulder. As in these two large piers we find the four evangelists above, and two of the doctors below, and a very good reason to account for the absence of a third, we may safely ascribe this figure to St. Augustine, the fourth.

2, in the middle pair is empty. The image of St. Gregory which once stood there would be that of a pope, and would be taken away when the "superstitious" images were, as seeming to favour the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome. Thus does the memory of a good man suffer by his being ill sorted.

The highest figures are very curious, and, I believe, have not been properly described before.

1. St. Luke. An apostolic figure with a cap on the head; the right hand extended downwards; the left holds a closed book, upon which is a small winged ox in the same manner as the lamb which St. John Baptist often carries on a book.

2. St. John Evangelist. A figure similar to the last, but without cap, holding a bird on a closed book.

^a Dart's view of the inside of the chapel, which is a fairly good one, and was taken before the alterations, does not show figures here. Perhaps they fell before the over-zeal of Dr. John Hardyman, who in 1567 was deprived of his prebend here for destroying altars and other church ornaments without authority.

The Fifth Bay.—1. A young woman with long loose hair and turban, reading from a book which she holds in both hands. In her right hand she holds a palm branch. On the ground at her right side is a heading block, with a female head lying upon it. This is probably St. Winifred.

2. St. Margaret. A young woman with loose hair royally arrayed and crowned. She thrusts a staff into the jaws of a dragon at her feet. The top of the staff, which was probably a cross, is broken away.

3. St. Anne. This is a very beautiful group. The saint is represented in the dress of a widow. Her daughter, whom she is teaching to read, stands before her left knee, and is represented as an adult both in dress and figure, though her stature is that of a child.

4. St. Katherine. She is represented as in the south aisle. Both hands are broken away, and the image is a very poor one.

5. St. Matthew. An apostolic figure, hooded, and wearing spectacles, reading from a book in left hand, and holding in right an object like a Latin cross, of which one arm is wanting. Perhaps it is intended for a carpenter's square. This is the first of the series of apostles, the others being all within the three bays of the apse.

The Sixth Bay, being the northern cant of the apse.—1. St. James the Less. An apostolic figure, with long hair, bearded and shod, reading from a book held in both hands. Against his left side is a long curved club.

2. St. Thomas. An apostolic figure with long hair, shaven, shod, and wearing a hat. In right hand a spear, in left a book in a bag or case.

3. St. John Evangelist. An apostolic figure with long hair, beardless and barefoot. With right hand he blesses a cup, from which issues a dragon.

4. St. James the Great. As a pilgrim, with sclavine, bourdon, wallet, bottle, and large straw hat, in front of which is an escalop shell. The feet are bare. He is turning over a page in a book, which he holds in his left hand.

5. St. Andrew. An apostolic figure with long hair, bearded, bareheaded, and shod. He reads from a book which he holds in his right hand, and with his left supports the cross which is named from him.

The Seventh Bay, being the east end of the apse.—1. St. Peter. A bearded apostolic figure with long hair, reading from a book in left hand, and holding a key in right.

2. The Angel Gabriel. A rather ungraceful figure in amice, albe, crossed stole, and cope, with a round jewelled morse. On the head is a circlet, with a broken ornament in front, probably a cross. The right hand is broken away, but

the top of the sceptre which it held remains at the side of the head. In left hand is a scroll or ribbon of many contortions. I can see no trace of writing upon it. It was probably intended to be painted like the scrolls below the images, and like them never done.

This figure and No. 4 form a group of the Annunciation, and interfere with the general scheme of the figures; the reason for this seems to have been a desire to include the figure of Our Lady, combined with an unwillingness to place that of any other mortal in a position of equal dignity with hers.

3. Our Lord in Majesty. This is the central figure of the whole, and is but a poor one. Our Lord is represented as enthroned, with his right foot resting on a globe. He is bearded and unshod, and wears the usual toga-like dress. He blesses with his right hand, and with his left holds a book open towards the spectator.

4. The Blessed Virgin. This also is a poor figure. A young woman with long hair. The right hand is on the breast; the left is broken away.

5. St. Paul. A bearded apostolic figure, with long hair. He is shod, and reads from a book in left hand, and holds a sheathed sword in right.

The Eighth Bay, being the southern cant of the apse.—1. St. Philip. A bearded apostolic figure, with hat and shoes. The right hand is extended, and the left holds up three loaves.

2. St. Bartholomew. A bearded apostolic figure, with long hair. He holds a book in his right hand and a knife in his left.

3. St. Jude. A bearded apostolic figure, with long hair and hood and bare feet, holding a boat with both hands.

4. St. Matthias. A bearded apostolic figure with long hair, shod feet, and no covering for the head. In right hand he holds a book, and in left a large knife or scythe-blade.

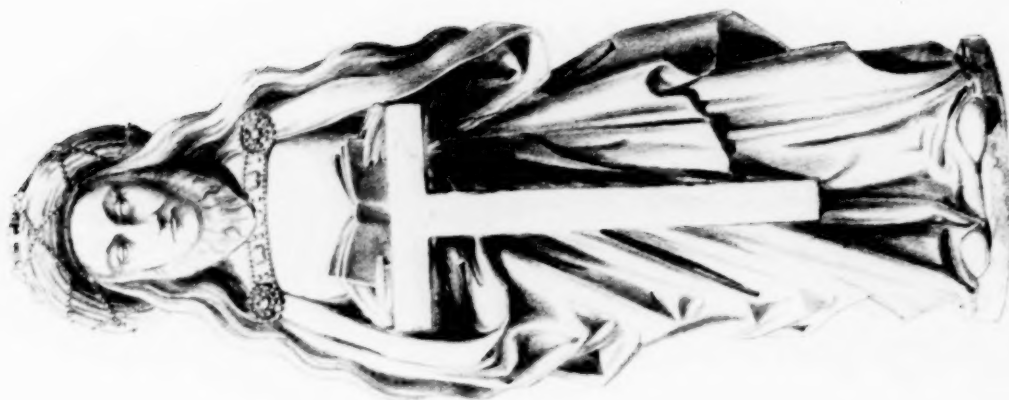
5. St. Simon. A figure like the last. He has a book in right hand. The left, which held the distinguishing emblem, probably a fish, is broken off; but as this is the last of the images of the apostles, and we have been able to assign all the others, there can be no doubt about it.

It is evident that the intention was to place the apostles here in the order in which they are named in the Canon of the Mass,^a and as far as Bartholomew they

^a "Communicantes et memoriam venerantes, imprimis gloriosae semper Virginis Mariae, genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi; sed et beatorum Apostolorum et Martyrum Tuorum, Petri, Pauli, Andreae, Jacobi, Joannis, Thomae, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Simonis, et Thaddaei, &c."



ST MARTIN



S^t WILGEFORT



ST NICHOLAS

are so. Peter is on the right hand of the principal group, and Paul on the left. Then follow in order on the right hand side Andrew, James the Great, John, Thomas, and James the Less, filling the sixth bay. The series is then taken up at the left, in the eighth bay, beginning with Philip and Bartholomew; and that the other three do not follow in the same order is probably due to the carelessness of the imagers or of the setters. There was only room for twelve apostles in the apse, and, as St. Paul was counted amongst them, one had to be put outside, and thus we find St. Matthew in the last place of the fifth bay. It is likely that if the arrangement had not been blundered we should have had there St. Matthias, who is similarly left out of the canon to make room for St. Paul.

The Ninth Bay.—1. A nun or widow turning over a page of a book which she holds in her left hand. Perhaps this may be intended for St. Elizabeth, the mother of St. John Baptist. Or it may be Martha of Bethany, if either of the figures in the south-east chapel be intended for her.

2. St. Mary Magdalene. A young woman with long loose hair, holding a cylindrical box or jar in both hands.

3. St. Dorothy. A young woman richly dressed, with turban head dress, reading from a book held in left hand; right hand holds a wicker basket.

4. St. Barbara. A young woman, with long hair, bound by a jewelled wreath, reading from a book held in right hand; a castle with turrets in left.

5. St. Wilgeforte. A young woman, with long hair and turban, as in several already described, but with a *beard*. She reads from a book, which she rests on the top of a T cross. This is the only image I have seen of this curious and altogether fabulous saint, but she was once a favourite. There was a famous image of her at St. Paul's. It was supposed that a saint who had obtained a beard in order to avoid matrimony would have some sympathy with those who wished to escape from it, so ladies who had husbands whom they would be rid of used to ask her help, whence her popular name of St. Uncumber.^a See Plate XI.

The South Pier comes between the ninth and tenth bays corresponding to the pier on the north, and, like it, has six niches at three levels. The lowest pair are empty, like those opposite, and for the same reasons.

1, in the middle pair, has the image of St. Jerome as a cardinal in an attitude of meditation. His left hand turns over the leaves of a book which lies on a

^a See note B at the end of the paper. It seems, from a letter of one of the Pastons to his mother in 1465, that ladies who had not husbands and wanted them paid their devotions to the *Rood of Northdoor* at St. Paul's. See Gairdner's *Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 233.

lectern before him. His right hand hangs down and holds a pen which a little lion jumps up to and plays with.

2. St. Ambrose. A bishop vested for Mass, reading from a book which he holds in his left hand. In right he holds a scourge, and the crozier, from which the head is lost, rests against the left shoulder.

1, in the highest pair. St. Mark as a young man richly dressed and wearing a sort of turban. He holds a book upon which is a very small lion. This figure corresponds with those of St. John and St. Luke on the opposite pier.

2. St. Matthew. A bearded figure in cassock and mantle; he has a cap or coif on his head and wears spectacles; a pen-case hangs from his girdle. He writes in a book which is held up to him by an angel, in alb and cope, and with a circlet round the head, who also holds up the inkpot with the other hand.

The Tenth Bay—1. St. Helen. A queen with long hair hanging down from under her crown. She reads from a book which she rests on the top of a T cross.

2. A young woman richly dressed, with long hair and turban head-dress. She reads from a book which she holds in both hands. A pair of beads hang over her right wrist. This is St. Sythe.

3, 4, and 5 reproduce the group of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian as in the north-east chapel. I have already mentioned this as another example of the carelessness of the imagers.

The Eleventh Bay.—1. St. Cuthbert. A bishop vested for Mass, holding his crozier in his left hand and the head of a king in his right. The head is that of St. Oswald.

2. A young king, unbearded, both hands are gone, but a pin remains which shows that some object of considerable size^a was held before the breast. The figure is a poor one. I think it probably represents Edward King and Martyr. It directly faces the figure of Edward the Confessor.

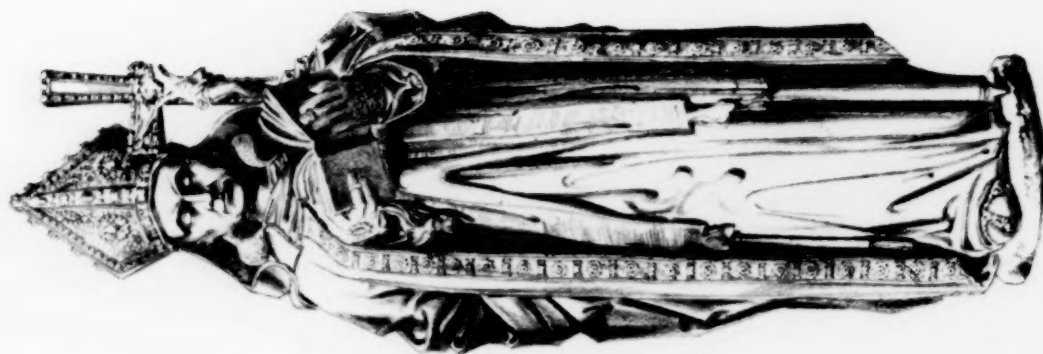
3. St. Nicholas, as in the east chapel. See Plate XI.

4. A young king with a sceptre in right hand and a crowned head in his left. This is probably St. Oswald. The figure directly opposite is that of St. Edmund.

5. St. Eloy. A bishop in cope, holding his crozier in his left hand and a horseshoe in his right.

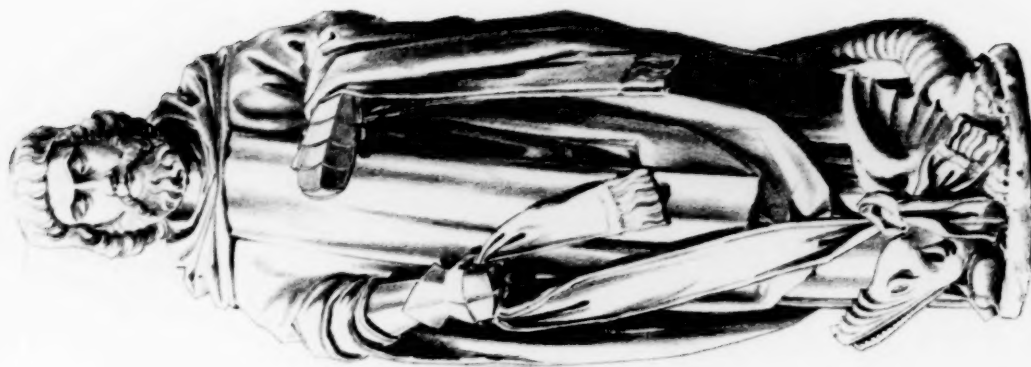
The Twelfth Bay.—1. This niche is empty. If I am not right in attributing the next figure to St. Thomas of Canterbury we may suppose his once to have

^a Probably a hawk if the figure is that of Edward.

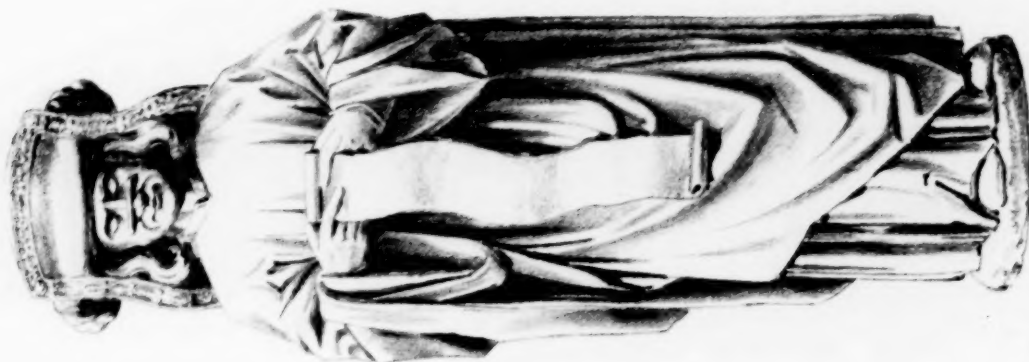


S^t THOMAS OF CANTERBURY

SCALE ONE SIXTH LIN. &c.



UNKNOWN.



A PHILOSOPHER

4000

stood in this place. But the arrangement of the figures in the eleventh and twelfth bays and in those opposite to them shows an intention to place a bishop in every alternate niche, and this one has a bishop on each side. The five last figures have been bishops and kings alternately, and we may fairly expect another king here. Henry the Sixth is wanting in the series, and we should certainly look to find him there. It seems therefore most likely that his image occupied the vacant place. The removal of it at the same time as that of the corresponding figure in the eastern chapel looks rather like an act of over-zeal, but there may have been some special reason for it. Both here and at the east end the vacant niche has the figure of St. Thomas of Canterbury next to the right of it, which may go to confirm the like assignment of the places, but the fact by itself is not of much weight.

2. An archbishop in alb and cope reading. His cross rests against his left shoulder. The stole is crossed, and there is a figure of the Crucified on the cross. This and the third image on the north side of the east chapel must represent the same person, and I have no doubt it is St. Thomas of Canterbury. There is a well-known story in the life of St. Thomas which makes the cross in his hands a more personal emblem than in those of other archbishops.^a See Plate XII.

3. St. George in full armour with his visor raised, cutting with his sword at the dragon, upon which he tramples.

4. A bishop in albe and cope with crozier in his right hand. With his left he appears to be putting alms into a dish held up to him by a lame beggar. The beggar is scantily clothed and has no feet, but perhaps they have been broken off; he walks on two stumps which are strapped to his legs below the knees, and he appears to have had a crutch, but most of it is broken away. I think this is intended for St. Richard of Chichester, who was remarkable for rather extravagant almsgiving.

5. This is the same person as No. 1 in the north aisle. He wears a remarkably full chasuble of the early form. He is bearded, wears gauntlets, and leads a dragon by a stole. His scapular is again made conspicuous. See Plate XII.

The Thirteenth Bay.—Like those on the opposite side, the five figures in this bay are men in the dress of the sixteenth century, and I think that they also

^a It is a common error to suppose the cross of an archbishop to be the equivalent of the crook or crozier of an ordinary bishop, and to have been carried by him in ecclesiastical functions. An archbishop did not carry the cross, but it was borne before him by a clerk appointed for that office. He himself used the crozier like other bishops. In monumental effigies and seals and the like we sometimes see an archbishop represented with the cross in his hand as a conventional way of showing his dignity.

represent the ancient philosophers. 1, 3, and 5 are shaven, the other two wear beards; 1, 3, and 4 hold scrolls; 2 and 5 books; 3 wears spectacles; all have hats; 3 is drawn in Plate XII.

I have now described all the stone figures which remain, and have been able to name enough of them to show the general scheme of their distribution. The groups in the small chapels are complete in themselves, and probably in every case have some reference to the altars which once stood there. The upper range is intended to set forth the whole company of the saints assembled round the throne, and the chief of those who are found below are repeated here. There are most of the saints who were most popular in this part of England in the middle ages;^a but we may notice some exceptions. St. Alban is absent, perhaps, on account of the long rivalry between this house and the abbey which bears his name and claimed to possess his body. Dominic and Francis are not here, nor any other of the saints of the friars. The absence of St. Benedict is curious, and I think his image must have been in one of the lower niches of the great piers. Perhaps those four niches now empty may have contained the figures of four of the first founders of the monastic life corresponding with the four doctors and four evangelists above.

The scheme begun in the walls was probably carried on in the painted windows, and those of the clerestory may have contained either more saints or, as is I think more likely, the patriarchs, prophets, and sibyls, and the various orders of angels, and perhaps, too, the "worthies" male and female. It is not certain that the glazing was ever finished, but some certainly was done, for the windows of "the Kynge's new chapell at Westminster," are referred to as the standard which is to be equalled in an agreement^b for painting four windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, made in 1527. The fragments of painted glass still remaining in the great west window and those of the clerestory all round seem to show that they at least were finished. But I doubt whether the lower windows ever received more than quarry glazing and a few badges and monograms intended to serve until glass more suited to the rich character of the building could be provided. There is a figure in the middle light of the east window of the clerestory which is called that of Henry VII. It is a good deal made up, and as seen from below it is impossible to say whether any of it occupies its original position, or even what it may have been intended to represent. There is a scroll

^a See note C at the end of the paper.

^b This agreement is printed in Britton's account of the chapel in the first volume of his *Architectural Antiquities*, page 15.

in the hands, on four fragments of which Mr. Middleton succeeded in decyphering these letters: *domin — atio — lau — te — n —*.^a This looks very much like a fragment from a representation of the orders of angels such as I have suggested may have been here. The clerestory of the apse would be the most likely place for it.

The furniture of the Chapel was as rich in imagery as the building itself. But what is left of it has been figured in Ackermann's *Westminster*, and properly described there and in later books. I shall therefore only enumerate the figures.

The High Altar stood till 1643, when it was destroyed by the Puritans. It was a fine *Renaissance* work by Torrigiano, of which a few pieces still remain, and have lately been put back as nearly as possible into their old places. Sandford gives an engraving of the whole,^b and from it and the description in the original contract^c we learn that beneath the Altar was a figure of Christ lying dead; above the Altar was a table or reredos with bronze subjects in relief both in front and behind, the former being the Resurrection and the latter the Nativity. Over the Altar was a canopy or tester carried on pillars, and above its cornices were coats of arms and angels bearing the instruments of the Passion.

The tomb of the founder remains almost perfect, the only loss being the banners which were carried by the four angels at the corners. At each side are three large roundels with the figures of two saints apiece. They are, on the south side—1. The Blessed Virgin and Child and St. Michael trampling on the dragon; 2. St. John Baptist and St. John Evangelist; 3. St. George and St. Anthony. On the north side—1. St. Mary Magdalene and St. Barbara; 2. St. Christopher and St. Anne; 3. St. Edward and St. Vincent. All these except St. Christopher are named in the will of Henry VII. as his *avouries*, whose images he directs to be placed in niches round his tomb. After Henry's death the design for his tomb, which he describes, was changed for the Italian one, but otherwise his instructions were obeyed. The screen or grate round the tomb was begun by the King in his lifetime, and is probably English work. Its eight towers have contained thirty-two bronze figures, but of these only six remain. On the south side are St. John Evangelist, St. Edward, and St. Bartholomew; on the east is St. James the Greater as a pilgrim; on the north is an apostolic figure, which has lost the hands, and all distinctive emblems; and on the west is St. George.

^a Part of *Dominationes laudate nomen Domini*.

^b *Genealogical History*, plate, ed. 1707, p. 497.

^c Printed in Brayley, vol. i. p. 58, and elsewhere.

These are all the strictly hagiological subjects which are left. The architectural and heraldic sculpture and the carvings of the stalls all deserve special study. But for the present I am content to have called attention to, and I hope thrown some light upon, a collection of statuary the like of which, even after the losses it has suffered, exists nowhere else in England. That it should have been left to me to do so is due to the almost inexhaustible richness of Westminster Abbey, and to the fact that recent antiquaries have given their attention chiefly to the earlier works there.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

It has been suggested that some of the figures may be older than the present chapel, and have once adorned the earlier one; and this is not unlikely of the smaller figures. Mr. W. S. Weatherley, to whose skilful pencil we owe the illustrations to this paper, examined and drew the figures when they were taken down in 1869, and he tells me that two materials are used, some of the figures of the upper range being in Caen stone, of which the chapel is built, and some in the Reigate "fire-stone" generally used in the older parts of the abbey. And he further adds that the latter are earlier in their character, "having a taller proportion, with the drapery folds straighter" than the others. Mr. Weatherley names the figures of SS. Augustine, Katherine, Ambrose, Helen, and Edward, K.M., as those which for these reasons he considers to be of the older date.

NOTE B.

The following passage from Sir Thomas More is worth quoting, as it proves the identity of St. Uncumber with St. Wilgeforte and also mentions several other saints whose images are in our list:

"Sainct Apoline we make a toth drawer, and may speke to her of nothing but of sore teth. St. Sythe women get to seke theyr keys. Saint Roke we set to se to the great sykeness, bycause he had a sore. And with hym they joyne Saint Sebastian bycause he was martiret with arowes. Some serve for the eye onely, and some for a sore brest. Saint Germaine onely for chyldren, and yet wyll he not ones loke at them but if the mother bring with them a whyte lofe and a pot of good ale; and yet is he wiser than Saint Wylgefort, for she, good soule, is as they say served and content with otys. Whereof I can not perceiue the reason, but if it be bicause she should

provyde an horse for an evil housebonde to ryde to the Devyll upon ; for that is the thyng she is sought for as they say. In so much that women hath therefore chaunged her name, and instede of Saint Wylgeforte call her Saint Uncumber, bycause they reckon that for a peeke of otys she will not fayle to uncumber them of their housebondys." *A Dialogue concerning Heresies and Matters of Religion*, Book II. chapter 10.

This fame went forth of St. Wilgeforte in other countries besides England, and she had popular names which refer to it. The Rev. S. Baring Gould writes to me,—“She is called Oncumbre in Flanders, and Kummerniss (a softening of *Kummernicht*) in Germany, and St. Liberada or Liberata (freed from a husband) in Portugal and France. There is a new altar and picture to her in a chapel near Dieppe, and I know a German one on the Seisser Alp, near Botzen.”

NOTE C.

It may be interesting to compare the list of Saints represented in the chapel which King Henry VII. lived to build with those whom his less fortunate rival and predecessor intended should be specially honoured in the College which his death prevented him from founding at Middleham. In the statutes of the proposed college which are printed by the Camden Society is the following list :—

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| *St. John Baptist. | *St. Loy. |
| *St. John Evangelist. | St. Leonard. |
| *St. Peter. | *St. Martin. |
| *St. Paul. | St. William of York. |
| *St. Simon. | St. Wilfrid of Ripon. |
| *St. Jude. | *St. Katherine. |
| St. Michael. | *St. Margaret. |
| *St. Anne. | *St. Barbara. |
| St. Elizabeth. | *St. Martha. |
| St. Fabian. | *St. Winefred. |
| *St. Sebastian. | St. Ursula. |
| *St. Anthony. | *St. Dorothy. |
| *St. Christopher. | St. Radegund. |
| *St. Denis. | St. Agnes. |
| St. Blaise. | *St. Agatha. |
| *St. Thomas (<i>i.e.</i> , of Canterbury). | *St. Apolyne. |
| St. Alban. | *St. Sithe. |
| *St. Giles. | St. Clare. |
| St. Eustace. | *St. Mary Magdalene. |
| *St. Erasmus. | |

Those marked * have been identified with more or less certainty amongst the figures in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and we find that out of thirty-nine in the Middleham list twenty-six are found at Westminster, and several others may be there. The star which is put to St. Martha may possibly belong to St. Elizabeth or St. Clare, but at least one of the three may be claimed as being in both lists. And of fourteen female saints at Westminster no less than eleven are found amongst the sixteen named for Middleham. Local circumstances have in each case caused the exclusion or introduction of certain names, but the general agreement of the two lists affords a fair index of the popularity of the saints in England about the year 1500. Excluding duplicates and figures of persons not saints there are sixty-five saints represented at Westminster, where we find all the apostles, evangelists, and doctors, and there are six kings, whilst Richard's list, rather curiously, has none.